

342 414-418), but the skin tent with the two compartments as described by Maximilianus Transylvanus (1523, p. Av) suggests more the typical *Tekuelche* toldo of later times. This typical toldo (pl. 37, bottom; pl. 38, bottom, right) was made of three or more rows of stakes, diminishing in height from front to rear, and covered with guanaco skins sewn together and smeared with a mixture of grease and red paint. The inmost section was divided by skin screens into compartments, each married couple having their own compartment. The open side, facing east (to leeward), was sometimes, in winter or in bad weather, nearly closed with other skins. The fire was made near the center of the open side, a little within. Skins laid on the ground were used to sleep upon; covers were also of skins. The toldo, according to Spegazzini (1884, p. 280) usually housed a man and his entire family, or an extended family consisting of grandparents, children, and grandchildren, with their wives and offspring; while sometimes each of a man's wives and sons had a separate toldo. Apart from special gatherings, camps did not contain more than about 20 toldos; more commonly they contained fewer.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Clothing.—The early *Tekuelche* men wore a pubic covering, later superseded by the chiripá, and some at least tied up the penis by the prepucio to their belt. (Ladrillero, 1880, p. 498; cf. Pigafetta, 1906, 1: 60; Noort, 1903, p. 191.) The early skin moccasinlike footwear, with hay stuffing, gave place among the later *Tekuelche* to the bota de potro (fig. 18, c) made from the dehaired skin of a horse's hock or of the leg of a large puma (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1916 b, 1918, 1923). In one post-Columbian burial in Chubut Territory were found two exceptional types of clothing, a piece of shell-disk spangled mantle and a sandal (Vignati, 1930, pp. 12-13, cf. citations, pp. 20-22, of sources on mantles and footwear). Guanaco-skin overshoes were sometimes worn (Musters, 1872, p. 196). Men's other garments were (pl. 39, top): A mantle of sewn skins of young or unborn guanaco, or of skunk, fox, or wildcat (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 68; Mufin, 1917, p. 214; Musters, 1872, p. 194), reaching to or below the knee, secured by a belt, painted with polychrome geometric designs (fig. 19; cf. Lothrop, 1929), ordinarily worn with the hair inside, but sometimes in hot weather with the hair outside (Coan, 1880, p. 73); a woven woolen silet; sometimes a poncho. The women's dress (pl. 39, top) consisted of: An apron pubic covering (cf. Vignati, 1931 e); an undergarment reaching from the armpits to the knees; a mantle like the men's, but fastened at the breast or shoulder; the bota de potro, when on horseback; sometimes a flatfish straw hat.

323 Pottery.—The early *Tehuelche* used very simple and crude pottery (Pigafetta, 1906, 1: 50), and pottery occurs archeologically far down the Atlantic coast and inland in *Tehuelche* territory (present volume, p. 20; Lothrop, 1932 b, pp. 194-196); but again there is no information on process of manufacture. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2: 172) reported pottery absent from the *Tehuelche* of his day.

281 Miscellaneous.—The *Tehuelche* did excellent lasso plaiting and
325 saddlery work, and, after the early 19th century, very creditable silver-smithing (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; Bourne, 1853, p. 97, cf. 96).

281 Skin dressing.—In dressing skins, the women first pegged them
[413] down to sun-dry them, then scraped them with flint, agate, obsidian, or glass scrapers. The scrapers (fig. 18, g) are hafted by lashing the blade to a bent split sapling (cf. illustr., Outes and Bruch, 1910, p. 121) or by setting it transversely in a block of wood. The skins were next smeared with grease and liver, were kneaded into a pulp, and were
[413] softened by hand until quite pliable. A soft-grained stone was also used for scouring. In sewing, an eyeless needle or awl, later made of
[283] an iron nail, and thread of guanaco or rhea sinew were used. (On *Tehuelche* skin dressing, cf.: Lothrop, 1929; Bourne, 1853, pp. 98-99; Guinnard, 1864, pp. 68-69; Roncagli, 1884, p. 778; Hatcher, 1903, p. 269. Our most detailed account is Kermes, 1893, pp. 209-210, for "Pampe" Indians apparently of Rio Negro, probably including *Tehuelche*; he records dehairing with ashes.)

415 Skin bags were made for holding water (Coan, 1880, p. 53; Gardiner
412 and Hunt, 1852, p. 89; Bourne, 1853, p. 82), paints, etc. Knives were earlier made of stone, and such were still used in the middle 18th century (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 75). A small hand-adz was used in woodworking (fig. 18, f; cf. Musters, 1871, pp. 168, 170).

411 Weapons.—The chief hunting and fighting weapon of the early *Tehuelche* was the bow and arrow, which finally went out of use in the first half of the 19th century (Morrell, 1832, p. 84; Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 149). The bows are described both as long and as short, with guanaco sinew string; arrows, with cane shafts, heads of stone or bone, and three feathers (Oviedo, 1851-55, 2: 40), carried originally in the hair, fillet headdress, or belt instead of a quiver. D'Orbigny (1935-47, 2: 116-117) reported bows 3 feet (90 cm.) long, some use of skin quivers, and slings. The bolas, of the one-, two-, and three-balled types (fig. 18, i, j, k), began to replace the bow and arrow at the time of the adoption of the horse. The lasso, too, was of later introduction.

The lance, bola perdida, European weapons, and armor are discussed below, pp. 153-154.

372 Fire making.—Ordinarily fire was made by the drill method. Fire making by percussion is recorded by two observers, Coan (1880, p. 50) with two pebbles and Spegazzini (1884, p. 232) with two flints—the former case possibly due to immigrant *Ona* influence (cf. supra).

Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported that the *Alacaluf* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*. 372
[439]

SOCIAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche*; our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini. 114

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:152) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal?]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177-178; 1872, p. 201). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 74), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique. 836
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Marriage was mostly monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:152), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see Poya, p. 160); nor is either the sororate or levirate. 595

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 184). The aged were respected and well cared for. 593
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Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1853, p. 150). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties appeared together and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184-185). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 296) contrasted with *Araucanian* etiquette in this regard. 551
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Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toldo cleanliness; 575
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During our stay the women went to the woods to cut fresh³¹³ poles for the toldos, and the men brought back from the³⁷ wooded country a description of fungus, which, when dried,³⁷² forms an excellent tinder, of considerable value amongst the Indians, as there are only a few spots where it is to be obtained. After some days spent in this pleasant neighbourhood, as the supply of guanaco was failing, we marched over the barren range of hills, and passing a lagoon of considerable extent below the hills, encamped on the other side of them, by the side of a smaller one, in a place called 'Gogomenykaik.'

During the hunt I had singled out a guanaco, and was in³³ full chase across the upper pampa, which was covered with stunted bushes and tufts of grass, when the quarry suddenly disappeared, as if the earth had swallowed him. The next moment my horse halted in mid-gallop, with its fore feet on the edge of a precipitous descent which shelved away without any warning. Below was a long beautiful glen, with a pool of water glistening among the trees which filled it, but did not rear their topmost boughs above the level of the pampa. Here the guanaco had taken refuge, and as the descent was impracticable for a horse, I could only gaze longingly down into the fairy-like scene, and turn away to join the circle, remembering that it was only too easy to lose oneself by delay. Of this an instance occurred the same day, for one of the Chilians did not appear at the fireside when the hunting was completed. At first no heed was bestowed on him, as it was natural to suppose that he had chased a herd of guanaco to some distance, and was detained taking off the skins; but when at sunset he was still missing, some dry grass was fired, for the purpose of directing him to our camp. The following morning he had not appeared when we started to hunt, myself going as pointsman with Orkeke. We galloped for some distance over the plain, and halted in a hollow, where we came on six young skunks outside their³⁶ parental burrow, into which they quickly vanished on our

133 which, invisible to our eyes, lay our destination, viz., the toldos of Cheoque. For weeks Las Manzanas and Cheoque had been almost the sole topic of conversation, and the general excitement, which had been intense at starting, now cul-
752minated at the sight of our distant bourne. As we halted the Indians all raised their hands to their foreheads, saluting the distant river, and inviting the Spirit of the locality to be propitious to our undertaking, as to the issue of which there was great uncertainty. The night before Casimiro had
787pointed out the redness of the setting sun, and declared it to be an omen of war; but without paying attention to the omen, which indeed was not perceptible to my eyes, the unprecedented visit of 250 Tehuelches ostensibly for peace might very possibly be otherwise understood by Cheoque: indeed, it afterwards appeared that he, in reality, was by no means assured of our pacific intentions.

122 When all were collected and prepared to descend the mountain, it transpired that Casimiro, who had been missing since the hunt commenced, had, in company with several other Tehuelches and Foyel's Indians, returned to drink. This was very annoying, and all present united in abusing him for setting such an example when about to enter a part of the country whither we were going on sufferance, amongst a not remarkably friendly-disposed set of people. We halted

● 372 after nightfall in a valley at the side of a small rapid stream, the banks of which, for a short distance, were covered with high tussocks of broad-leaved pampa grass, amidst the shelter of which we bivouacked, although the night was cold and frosty. Firewood was plentiful, supplied by drift-wood brought down by winter or spring floods, so with blazing fires and under the lee of the pampa grass we slept warmly enough. It was necessary, however, to keep a sharp look-out on the horses, as pasturage was scanty. Before daylight, after a
133 slight consultation, Guenalto was given chief command, and we again started; after following a winding valley for a short distance and scrambling up a steep slope, we continued

352 of old pouches stuffed with guanaco wool, and sewn up with ostrich or guanaco sinews, a few lechos or woven blankets obtained from the Araucanos, and the remaining saddle gear. The
 445 cooking utensils comprise only an occasional iron pot, and an asador or spit; wooden platters are occasionally met with. The
 411 weapons used in the chase are the bolas, fitted with either two or three balls, the first being used against ostrich, and the latter to capture guanaco; and a lazo for capturing wild horses or cattle.

The arms of the Tehuelches consist of gun, or revolver, a long heavy lance, used only by dismounted Indians, and the bola perdeda, or single ball, a most effective weapon in their hands. Pigafetta mentions these Indians as using bows and arrows; this I look upon as an error: he either met with a party of Fuegians, or else with a tribe of Pampas living on the sea-coast, further north, whom I shall shortly have occasion to notice. My reason for stating that he was wrong is simply that no flint arrowheads are met with until the Rio Negro is reached, where they abound. Also there is but little wood nearer than the Cordillera suitable for bows, and it is reasonable to suppose that previous to the introduction of horses, these Indians' journeys were confined to a smaller area. Indeed, one Indian informed me that some caves, existing in a volcanic range south of the Santa Cruz river, were formerly inhabited by Tehuelches. When not engaged in hunting or training their horses, men occupy themselves in making
 462 wooden saddles, bolas, lazos, spurs, and other gear, or in working
 322 silver ornaments and pipes made out of stone or hard wood, and
 324 fitted usually with a silver tube; they also manufacture iron, pro-
 325 cured by trade or from shipwrecks, into rings, knives, etc.

• 372 Their anvils and hammers for working the silver are generally of stone. They also shape the materials for bolas with hard stones; the scrapers with which the women clean the skins are of flint or obsidian, of which material, probably, prior to the advent of the Spaniards, their knives were constructed. They procure fire by the use of flint and steel, employing as tinder a description of dried fungus, obtained in the wooded districts at the base of the Cordillera. The women's occupations, besides
 462 discharging all the household duties and fetching wood and
 281 water, consist in dressing the skins and manufacturing the mantles of the young guanaco, fox, skunk, and ostrich skins, using, instead of needles and thread, sharp metal bodkins and sinews obtained from the back of the adult guanaco. The puma, fox, and ostrich mantles, are chiefly manufactured for barter in the settlements. Some of the women also weave garters and fillets for the head, and occasionally work in silver. The children amuse themselves, as usual, by imitating their elders. The boys practise with miniature bolas and lazos, and mount any

609 with my whole available force and weight; but the disparity between human strength and horse power, stimulated to its utmost by the spur, was too great. I begged the men in the boats to come again the next morning, and on no account to leave me, which they solemnly promised.

592 I was now hurried back into the country five or six miles, and at last reached an Indian village, and was set down by the old chief at his wigwam. He gave me in charge to one of his squaws, who ordered me into the hut and bade me sit down on the ground. While sitting there, and casting an inquisitive glance around the rude habitation, my attention was suddenly attracted to what appeared to be several pairs of eyes in a dark corner, shining with a strange brilliancy. I speculated silently on the sight, much doubting whether they belonged to human beings or to wild beasts; but, on carefully reconnoitring. I discovered that they belonged to three huge women. Further investigations disclosed a number of dark-skinned boys and girls, of divers ages and sizes, playing and capering about the premises, in a state of perfect nudity. [291] It took a considerable time to make out these, or any other objects, distinctly, owing to the darkness of the hut. Presently the chief, the patriarch of the tribe, entered [595] his habitation, and began a conversation, in his peculiar dialect, with his wives. He spoke in a low, guttural tone, in words the purport of which I could not gather. I was in no mood for conversation, but would have been much gratified by learning his version of the day's "stroke of business."

• 372 And now a few dry sticks and a bunch of dry grass were brought, mine host drew from a convenient repos-

itory a brass tinder-box, with a stone and a piece of steel, 372●
and soon produced a blaze that brilliantly illuminated the
scene. By its light I was enabled to survey the first 342
specimen of Patagonian architecture that had blessed my
vision. It was constructed in a *pointed* style, though not
very aspiring, consisting of a row of stakes about eight
feet high, each terminating at top in a crotch, or fork,
with a pole laid across them; two parallel rows of stakes
on either side, about two feet high, with similar termi-
nations, and a similar horizontal fixture; and a covering [281
composed of skins of the guanaco, sewed together with 283]
the sinews of the ostrich, the only thread used by the
people. This covering is drawn over the frame-work, and
fastened by stakes driven through it into the ground.
For purposes of ventilation some interstices are left, but
these again are half closed by skins attached to the out-
side; so that the air from without, and the smoke from
within (in default of a chimney), must insinuate them-
selves through these apertures in great moderation. In
truth, my first survey was rather hurried; the first cheer-
ful gleam had scarcely set my eyes on the look-out when
I was fain to shut them against an intolerable smoke. In
no long time I felt as bacon, if conscious, might be sup-
posed to feel in the process of curing. No lapse of time
was sufficient to reconcile my eyes, nostrils and lungs,
to the nuisance; often have I been more than half strangled
by it, and compelled to lie with my face to the ground, as
the only endurable position. Talk that is "worse than a
smoky house" must be something out of date, or Shak-
spere's imagination never comprehended anything so
detestable as a Patagonian hut. The chief and his numer- 000